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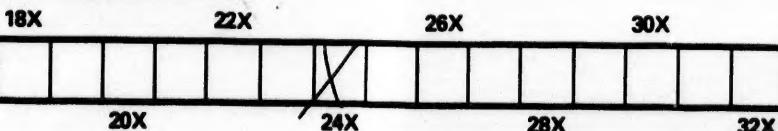
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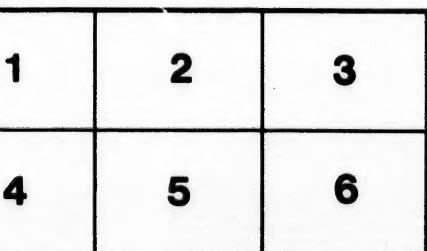
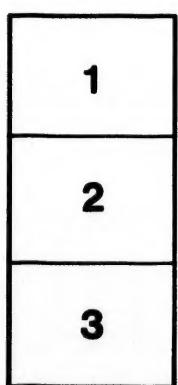
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REMARKS

ON

SEBASTIAN CABOT'S MAPPE-MONDE.

BY

CHARLES DEANE.

REPRINTED FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN  
SOCIETY, FOR APRIL, 1867.

CAMBRIDGE:  
PRESS OF JOHN WILSON AND SON.  
1867.



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## REMARKS

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## REMARKS

ON

## SEBASTIAN CABOT'S MAPPE-MONDE.

MR. DEANE said, that he took that occasion to formally present to the Society the copy of the *Mappe-Monde* of Sebastian Cabot, which he had procured in Paris last year, but which he accidentally omitted to take with him to the meeting at Worcester, in October last.\* He remarked, that it would always be a subject of regret, that M. Jomard had not lived to complete the great work on which he had been for some years employed, namely, his "Monuments de la Géographie," which included this map of Cabot. At the time of his decease, he was engaged in the preparation of the "texte," to accompany and illustrate the collection of ancient maps brought together in this work.† His labors, however, have been con-

\* See remarks on this map in Proceedings for October, 1866, pp. 12-14.

† This volume of *texte* was expected to embrace all the printed matter which is on the sides of the original map, as expressed both in Spanish and in Latin. These printed "légendes" were omitted by Jomard on the copy of the *Mappe-Monde* which he published. M. Jomard died in the latter part of the year 1862. A memoir of him, by M. de la Roquette, was read before the Société de Géographie, on the 19th of December in that year.—*Séé Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, 5 série, tome v. p. 81.*

tinued by the distinguished scholar, M. D'Avezac, from whom the volume of *texte explicatif* may soon be expected.

Mr. Deane said, that since the publication of Cabot's map, he had seen no complete analysis of it by an historical student, nor any opinion expressed as to whether it cleared up any of the uncertainties which had long surrounded the voyages of the Cabots. He agreed with Mr. Hale, that some of these questions, one after another, were getting solved. The historical material recently discovered in the Venetian and in the Spanish archives, and brought together by Mr. Hale in his admirable Report of the Council for October, 1865, shows conclusively that there were two voyages, — that is to say, one in 1497, and one in 1498; and, moreover, that John Cabot was the person to be regarded as the original discoverer, accompanied, however, by his son Sebastian. A close study of this map will probably settle some other questions. Mr. Richard Biddle, in his "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot," contended that Cabot's *Prima Vista* was not Newfoundland, as had generally been supposed, but Labrador. The land first seen is clearly indicated on the map, and *prima vista*, and again *prima tierra vista*, are marked upon it; and it is very certain that it is neither Newfoundland nor Labrador, but Cape Breton.\* The latitude and longitude given to

\* Michael Lok's map, published by Hakluyt in his "Divers Voyages," 1582, and "made according to Verazanus plat," — described as "an olde ex-

the spot confirm the other indications upon the map. Mr. Biddle was quite certain that Sebastian Cabot discovered, in one of his early voyages, Hudson's Bay; but no representation of that bay appears upon the map, which would seem to be conclusive upon that subject.\*

This map in the Imperial Library was evidently made during Cabot's residence in Spain; and the printed matter upon it indicates as its date 1544, which was four years before his return to England. It is a sailing chart, and probably was intended to embrace the geographical discoveries down to that time.

That this is not "the mappe of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams," which Hakluyt described in his folio of 1589 (page 511), as then "to be seen in her Maiesties priuie gallerie at Westminster,"†

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cellent mappe which he gave to King Henrie the eight,"—has "J. Cabot 1497," inscribed upon a delineation of "C. Breton." We must suppose Lok to have made some additions to "Verazanus plat."

\* On the map of Ortelius, published in 1570, there is delineated what appears to be the bay afterwards called "Hudson's Bay." It is known that Ortelius had before him Sebastian Cabot's map; and the inference has been drawn, that that map furnished the authority for such delineation. But, as stated above, it furnishes no such authority.

† I suppose the map described by Hakluyt must be the same subsequently noticed by Purchas (in 1625; *Pilgrimes*, iii. 807), as "the great Map in his Majesties priuie Gallerie, of which *Sebastian Cabot* is often therein called the Author," and of which Purchas, in the margin, says, "This Map, some say, was taken out of Sir *Seb. Cabot's* Map by *Clem. Adams* 1549." He sums up the statement as to the discovery, substantially in Hakluyt's English version which he says "are the wordes of the great Map." He gives the year of the discovery as "1497," which is correct, in fact, but does not conform in that respect, as will be seen, to the reading in Hakluyt's folio of 1589, though it does conform to that of his later edition. (See note following). Though Purchas may have seen the map which he here describes "in his Majesties

is evident from a comparison of the language of the extract which Hakluyt gives from it, with the language of the *légende* on the map in the Imperial Library. The parallel passages from each are here given. The following is from Hakluyt, taken by him from the map of Clement Adams:—

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priuie Gallerie," he probably followed Hakluyt in his last edition, the third volume of which he cites near this place; and I suppose Purchas still had his eye on the passage in Hakluyt's third volume, when he repeats (iv. 1812) that "the Map . . . in the Privy Gallery hath 1497."

Whether the date 1549, in the margin of Purchas, (iii. 807,) refers to the map of Cabot, or to that of Clement Adams "taken out of" Cabot's map, may not be certain. I have said that the date of the map in the Imperial Library is 1544. That is the year given in section xvii. of the *légendes*, which in that place speak of Sebastian Cabot as the author of the map.

There is good reason to believe that there were two editions of this map, besides the one cut from it by Clement Adams. In a volume edited by Nathan Chytraeus, first published in 1594 (referred to in a note on page 14 of the Proceedings for October, 1866), may be seen the Latin *légendes* of Cabot's map, a copy of which the editor appears to have found at Oxford. On page 791, in section xvii., the date 1549 appears, instead of 1544, as it is on the map in the Imperial Library. There are other verbal variations. It has the impossible date of 1594 as the year of the discovery, which, of course, is a typographical error, either of the map seen by Chytraeus or of Chytraeus himself. If there was a second edition of the map, it may have contained only the Latin words which alone Chytraeus copies.

Cabot's maps are referred to by other writers. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in "A Discourse of a Discouerie for a new Passage to Cataia," &c., published in 1576, speaks of Cabot's "Charts, which are yet to be seen in the Queenes Majesties Priuie Gallerie at Whitehall;" and Richard Willes, in his edition of "Eden," p. 232, speaks of Cabot's "table," which the Earl of Bedford "hath at Cheynies." These maps are cited by the above writers to prove the existence of a strait at the north through to the Pacific Ocean, which they say is indicated upon them. If these maps are correctly described, it is certain they cannot be copies of the one in the Imperial Library. Gilbert's statement as to the latitude attained by Cabot, "67 degrees and a halfe," and the time at which he reached it, "eleventh of June," are taken from Ramusio, whose works are cited in the margin of Hakluyt, iii. 16. The reference is to the voyage of 1516 or 1517. M. Asher supposes the maps described by Gilbert and Willes to be copies of the map of Adams, who had tampered with Cabot's work after the death of its author.

“Anno Domini 1494,\* Ioannes Cabotus venetus, & Sebastianus illius filius eam terram fecerunt peruiam, quam nullus prius adire ausus fuisset, die 24 Iunij, circiter horam quintam bene manè. Hanc autem appellavit Terram Primum visam, credo quod ex mari in eam partem primū oculos iniecerat. Nam quæ ex aduerso sita est insula, eam appellavit insulam D. Ioannis, hac opinor ratione, quod aperta fuit eo die qui est sacer D. Ioanni Baptiste.”

The following is from the “Tabula Prima,” section viii., on the map in the Imperial Library:—

“Terram olim nobis clausam, aperuit Ioannes Cabotus Venetus, neenō Sebastianus Cabotus eius filius, anno ab orbe redempto 1494, die uero 24 Iulij, hora 5, sub diluculo, quā terrā primū uisam appellarūt et insulā quandā magnā ei oppositā Insulā diui Ioannis nominarūt, quippe quæ soleuni die festo diui Ioannis aperta fuit.”

\* In the third volume of Hakluyt's larger work, published in 1598-1600, where this extract from Clement Adams's map again appears, the year of the discovery is given as 1497 (the true date, in fact), instead of 1494, though this latter is the date on the map in the Imperial Library. Some writers, therefore, who are not familiar with Hakluyt's first folio of 1589, where the extract first appears, and who have consulted only the later edition, where the extract is given with the altered date, have naturally supposed that Adams's map bore the date 1497 upon it as the year of the discovery. M. D'Avezac, in his note on Cabot's map in the “Bulletin de la Société de Géographie” (Quatrième Série, tome xiv. pp. 266-278), and M. Asher, in his work on “Henry Hudson” (p. 261), published by the Hakluyt Society, both express that opinion. It is evident to me, that Mr. Richard Biddle, the author of the “Memoir of Sebastian Cabot,” also never consulted the first folio of Hakluyt; and, never having seen Cabot's map, he supposed the date of the discovery given upon it to be that which he found in the later edition of Hakluyt, which he always cites. It was a mystery to him why Harris and Pinkerton should give 1494 as the year of the discovery, not knowing that that date was originally derived, as we now see, from Cabot's map.

I observe that M. D'Avezac, in the note above referred to, adopts the date on the map (1494) as the year of the discovery made on a voyage undertaken prior to the issuing of the patent; which was followed by the voyages of 1497 and 1498.

It may be asked, upon what authority did Hakluyt alter the date from 1494 (which we will suppose he copied into his folio of 1589 from Adams's map) to 1497?

Most of the published authorities for the voyages of the Cabots existing in Hakluyt's time were unhappily confused, and even contradictory, and were

These are, evidently, two independent translations of a common original; the month "Iulij," in the latter version, which is not the same as in the Spanish

very unsatisfactory as to dates. But one voyage apparently is spoken of, yet possibly the details of two, in some of the accounts, may be blended into one. In Peter Martyr's "Third Decade," published in 1516, no dates are given; though, in a later "Decade," Sebastian Cabot's voyage is referred to as having taken place a certain number of years before the time at which Martyr is writing, which would fix its date at 1498. Peter Martyr was a friend of Cabot, and used to entertain him at his house. Gomara, in the first part of his "General History of the Indies," first published in 1552, gives no date. Among the accounts of S. Cabot's voyage, published by Ramusio, in his first volume, in 1560, the Pope's Legate in Spain is made to report a conversation held with Cabot himself, in which 1496 is given as the year of the voyage there treated of, which Eden (fol. 255) calls Cabot's first voyage; and Cabot is made to say, that, on his return, he "found great tumults among the people, and preparation for wars in Scotland, by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage." This state of things in England points to the year 1497; yet the voyage of 1498 followed. Thus appears the confusion in which these early narratives are involved. The manuscript furnished to Hakluyt by Stowe, the original of which was published by our associate, Mr. Hale, in the Proceedings for 1860, refers to the "18th of Henry VII.," between Aug. 22, 1497, and Aug. 21, 1498. This may now be cited as evidence of the voyage of 1498.

It will be seen that all these authorities are far from satisfactory as furnishing definite date for the voyage of discovery; and, if we add to these the *legende* on Cabot's map (evidently not written by Cabot himself), the confusion is by no means lessened.

Hakluyt makes but little comment on the authorities cited by him. He intimates no opinion as to whether there was more than one voyage. The patent of the 5th of March, 1495-96, is an authority to "seeke out" and "discouer." The inevitable inference is, that it was granted before the voyage of discovery. Therefore the date of 1494 on the map would be rejected by him; in which case the other authorities cited, though confused and indefinite, would bring the inquiry down to a narrow point. We cannot suppose, that Hakluyt, in giving the date 1497, "drew a bow at a venture." He may have had some authorities not cited by him. Besides, in his little quarto of 1582, seven years before the appearance of his first folio, he published a map of the celebrated Michael Lok, (which was made after "an olde excellent mappe" of "John Verazanus," and given by him "to King Henrie the eight,") on which we find the words, "J. Cabot, 1497," marked on the delineation of Cape Breton. I have already referred to this in another note, on pp. 2 and 8, for another purpose.

To show how little Hakluyt analyzed his authorities, in reference to the question as to the year in which the voyage of discovery was made, or as to whether there were more than one voyage, and to show how little these

words upon the map, being clearly an error,—as the day of the "feast of St. John the Baptist" is "24th June;" and, in the version from Hakluyt, the words

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points occupied his mind, it is only necessary to turn to the preface "To the Reader" in his folio of 1589. He is there speaking of the voyage of the Cabots which followed the granting to them of "the letters patentes, . . . to discouer & conquer" in the King's name "Vnknownen Regions;" and he says they "departed with 5 sailes from the Port of Bristol, accompanied with 300 Englishmen, and first of any Christians found out that mightie and large tract of lande and Sea, from the circle Arcticke as farre as Florida, as appeareth in the discouerse thereof." In the margin, he places as his authority "Robert Fabian." But if we turn to page 515 of the volume, on which the passage in Fabian is quoted, we shall see that it refers to "the 18th year of King Henry the 7," ending Aug. 21st, 1498; and that of the expedition there referred to as sailing, no tidings had been received at the date of the writing of that account. This passage of Fabian, therefore, refers to the second voyage, that of 1498. Indeed, against this very passage, printed by Hakluyt in his little quarto, seven years before, in 1582, the date "1498" is placed in the margin. Again, if we turn to the "general Catalogue" of the voyages prefixed to the third volume, published in 1600, of Hakluyt's larger work, we find the following: "The voyage of Sebastian Cabota to the North part of *America*, for the discouery of a *Northwest passage*, as farre as 58 degrees of latitude, and from thence back againe all along the coast, till he fell with some part of *Florida*, anno 1497; confirmed by 6 testimonies," to which he refers, namely: Sebastian Cabot's map cut by Adams, the two passages from Ramusio, the accounts from Peter Martyr, Gomara, and Fabian. Now, if we turn to the volume where these authorities are given, pp. 6-9, we shall find that no one of them authorizes the date 1497 as the year of discovery, (supposing, as we do, that that date was not derived from the map he cites), and probably Hakluyt did not intend to say that it did. He cited these authorities to show that the discovery of North America was made by the Cabots, and he seems to have been satisfied that "1497" was the true date; but it does not appear to have occurred to him, that probably but one of these accounts refers to the first voyage,—the voyage in which North America was discovered,—namely, that on the map, while the account communicated by Sebastian Cabot to Ramusio, and published in the Preface to his third volume, probably refers to the later voyage of 1516 or 1517, made in company with Sir Thomas Pert. (See Biddle's Memoir, p. 117; Tytler's "Historical View of the Progress of Discovery," &c., p. 30 of Harper's ed.). To these questions, surprising as it may seem, Hakluyt appears to have been indifferent, as he was also to that relating to the comparative agency of John and Sebastian Cabot in making the discovery. Hakluyt dealt with the main question, and only incidentally with the details of it. Time only has enhanced the value of these. We may have useless regrets that Hakluyt did not better edit the papers he has

*credo* and *opinor* are undoubtedly the language either of Hakluyt or of the translator, whoever he may have been. Both versions contain the error as to the year of the discovery, which, undoubtedly, was 1497; and the error was corrected by Hakluyt in the third volume, (page 6,) of his larger work, published in 1598-1600.

If we assume that the map in the Imperial Library is one of the copies of the original edition, and that from one of these copies also the map cut by Clement Adams was taken, it is difficult to explain why he should not have copied the Latin as he found it on Cabot's map, instead of making a new translation from the Spanish original on that map.\*

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handed down to us, but we must receive, with a grateful spirit, his labors, in the form in which they have been transmitted to us.

Whatever doubts have hitherto existed concerning the year in which John Cabot discovered North America, the recent exhuming of contemporary evidence, in the archives of Spain and of Venice, must for ever put them to rest, and confirm the statement of Hakluyt, in the third volume of his largest work (where he is apparently citing the *legende* on Adams's map), that 1497 is the true date. I take pleasure in referring to the admirable summary of these authorities, by the Rev. Mr. Hale, in the Report of the Council of this Society for October, 1865, in the Proceedings of that date, pp. 19-26.

\* The *legende* above quoted from the map in the Imperial Library, is thus expressed in the original Spanish, which is also on the map: "Esta tierra fué descubierta por Joan Caboto veneziano y Sebastian Caboto su hijo, anno del nacimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu-Christo, de M.CCCC.XCIII, a viente y quatro de Junio por la manana," &c. — See *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 4th Série, tome xiv., p. 270.

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